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# THE CANADIAN RAILROADER

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## *At the End of Patience*

*T*HERE is a limit to the endurance of the most conservative and most patient leaders in the labor movement. Evidently Mr. Warren S. Stone, of Cleveland, Grand Chief of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, who has been so noted for his disinclination for sharp movement against employers and for his forbearance generally, that the impatient ones in his own organization have sometimes called him a reactionary, has got to the limit of his.

Appearing before the United States Railway Labor Board at Chicago on November 29 with the officials of 15 other railway unions, Mr. Stone said that after being classed for 17 years as an ultra-conservative, he had arrived at the point where he was "through making excuses to the men". Some plan must be found, he said, for getting results for railway employees. He told the Board that he had tried to embody the decision of last July, under which railroad wages in the United States were raised \$600,000,000 in agreements with 358 railroads, but only four of the agreements had been signed. Mr. Stone's attitude is significant of the mass of discontent, with its constant pressure, and the need for speedier adjustments than have been the case across the border.

Canadian railroaders are more fortunate in regard to the decision of the Board, which took effect in Canada as well as in the United States. All Canadian companies fixed up the agreement long ago.

—KENNEDY CRONE



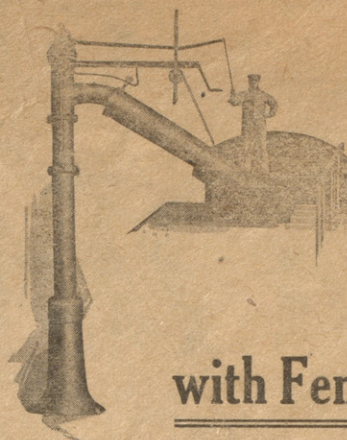
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## Excellent Work of Canadian Railway Board of Adjustment No. 1

IN the report of proceedings of the Canadian Railway Board of Adjustment No. 1, just issued, it is shown that a good deal was done for industrial peace and efficiency of the Canadian roads from August 7th, 1918, to August 31st, 1920, the period over which the Board has been functioning.

The report quotes the agreement arrived at for the formation of the Board, the agreement being reached between the Canadian Railway War Board and the six railway Brotherhoods. The purpose of the formation of the Board of Adjustment No. 1 is shown in the preamble to the contract, being the desire of the parties who signed to avoid disputes or misunderstandings which would tend to lessen the efficiency of transportation service in Canada during the war. Full power and authority was given to determine all differences which may arise between any of the railways and any of the classes of their employees, including the interpretation or application of wage schedules or agreements and the application to the Canadian roads of General Order No. 27 of the director-general of the United States Railroad administration, commonly known as the McAdoo award.

The members appointed were: S. N. Berry, vice-president Order of Railway Conductors; F. P. Brady, general manager of Eastern Lines, Canadian National Railways; Wm. Dorey, general chairman International Brotherhood Maintenance of Way Employees; U. E. Gillen, vice-president, Grand Trunk Railway system; Geo. Hodge, assistant to vice-president, eastern lines, Canadian Pacific; A. J. Hills, assistant to president, Canadian National Railways; S. J. Hungerford, assistant vice-president, Canadian National Railways; Ash Kennedy, assistant grand chief engineer, Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers; A. D. MacTier, vice-president, eastern lines, Canadian Pacific Railway; J. M. Mein, deputy president, Order of Railroad Telegraphers; Jas. Murdock, vice-president, Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, and G. K. Wark, vice-president, Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen.

Messrs. Gillen and Hungerford have since resigned and been replaced by G. C. Hones, assistant to the president, Grand Trunk Railway, and W. H. Sample, superintendent of Motive Power and Car Department, Grand Trunk. During the two years ending August 31st, 1920, the Board was in session 86 days to deal with cases. There were 87 cases submitted for settlement, and it is to be noticed that decisions were promptly given. All sittings are at Montreal.

One of the cases submitted was in regard to Oriental labor on British Columbia division, and the decision of the Board was that this

class of labor should be placed on the same basis as other maintenance of way employees.

Many of the judgments deal with adjustments of pay following the McAdoo award, others deal with dismissals of men, question of seniority, overtime pay, with matters of discipline on application of the unions, wages of dining car employees, wages for telegraphers, for clerical work, use of regular passenger men for freight service to make up monthly passenger guarantee. The Board laid down the principle of the right of employees to organize as being unquestioned. This matter was sent to the Board by the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks.

One case concerned the dismissal of a conductor for hauling a car containing a shipment of liquor as an empty setting out the car at a station, reporting and putting in a ticket for brakeman not on train. The judgment was to the effect that inasmuch as the evidence did not show that the conductor participated directly in the stealing of the liquor, or that he had personal knowledge of it until after the occurrence, it is recommended to the company that favorable consideration be given to the conductor's reinstatement, without pay for lost time, believing that he should be given the benefit of the doubt to this extent, and that his suspension from the service for over a year may be considered sufficient discipline for his failure to perform his duty on the occasion.

### WORKERS' EDUCATIONAL COURSES.

(Citizen, Ottawa.)

Lectures on economics, Canadian history, and English literature, under the auspices of the Ottawa Workers' Educational Association, begin early next month. An opening meeting will be held in the Carnegie Library on the first Tuesday in December. Persons desirous of enrolling are requested to communicate with Secretary, Workers' Educational Association, care of Carnegie Library, Ottawa.

The course of lectures on economics will be given by Professor S. A. Cudmore, B.A. (Oxon), formerly assistant professor in political science at Toronto University. Professor Adam Shortt will conduct the class in Canadian history. English literature will be taught by Dr. F. E. Slemon, and Mr. W. J. Sykes, M.A. As the fee for any one course is merely the nominal sum of one dollar, this opportunity of taking university extension lectures should be within the reach of practically every studious worker in Ottawa. Women are likely to avail themselves of the privilege as well as men.

The Workers' Educational Association has made an excellent beginning, by securing university lec-

tures so well qualified to take the classes through this winter. The subjects are fundamentally related to the structure of modern society. Social progress in Canada has possibly been held back by lack of study. A wider knowledge of history, economics and English, would tend profoundly to strengthen the control of government by the whole people. Steady progress towards democracy and freedom is assured when the workers are able to avail themselves of university extension opportunities such as the organizers of Workers' Educational Association are able to offer in Ottawa.

### AMERICAN MINES MOST DANGEROUS.

Report Shows More Men Killed in U. S. Coal Mines Than in Most Big Nations Combined.

Most persons are killed in the coal mines of the United States than in the combined countries of Great Britain, Germany, Japan, France, Belgium, Austria, India and New South Wales, according to a report made by Martin J. Flyzik, member of Washington's state safety board, at the annual rescue and first aid meeting held at Roslyn, Wash.,

Complete reports of mine fatalities, as compiled by mine inspectors, were quoted for the same time, revealing that on the average annually there were 2,270 fatalities among the 607,438 miners in the United States; 1,210 fatalities to the 890,434 miners in Britain; 1,817 fatalities of the 482,132 miners in Germany; 309 fatalities to the 105,924 miners in Japan; 302 fatalities to

the 178,749 miners in France; 142 fatalities to the 139,597 miners in Belgium; 91 fatalities to the 94,346 miners in India; 71 fatalities to the 68,283 miners in Austria; 27 fatalities to the 15,252 miners in New South Wales.

According to the tabulated reports of the bureau of mines, there were 50,378 men killed in and about the coal mines of the United States from 1839 to 1914 inclusive. This number may not be complete, inasmuch as mining was carried on in many states prior to enactment of mining codes and creation of state inspection bureaus, thus no authentic information could be given to the federal government in states having no inspection bureaus.

Twenty-three thousand two hundred and sixty of these men were killed by the fall of roof and pillar coal. The fatalities due to this principal cause varied but nine points from 1870 to 1913 for 1,000 men employed. This is considered the principal hazard of the coal mining industry.

According to the mine inspector's report, practically 75 per cent. of all mining accidents occur at or near the working face. It is estimated that fully one-half of these are caused by falls of coal or rock either at pillars, chutes or room workings.

Western coal owners are considering the suggestion that a chairman, preferably a judge, be appointed by them to supervise negotiations with organized labor. According to J. W. Mackie, managing director of Hillcrest Collieries, Limited, there is abundance of labor at the mines for the first time in five years. "This is not to be wondered at," said Mr. Mackie, "when the laborers outside the mines are receiving 88½ cents an hour, under Governmental direction, and with the closed shop rule in application.

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# Economic Position of Professional Workers; Demand For Complete Organisation

(From Our Scottish Correspondent)

Glasgow.

MUCH attention is at present being given in Britain to the economic position of the professional workers. There is a growing demand for complete organization as the only means of ensuring improved conditions. Men who never before gave a thought to the trade union movement are being driven into it, whether they desire it or not, by the old-fashioned attitude now adopted by directors of companies and such like. I propose this week to deal with two very important classes, the scientific and technical workers, and follow later with other classes, and in the end demonstrate the great movement now in progress which will link up all classes of professional workers in their desire for "a land worth living in," so long in coming after all the promises made.



James Gibson

Unquestionably there is a critical time ahead for scientific workers. The present very real dearth of qualified investigators is stirring the authorities and causing much anxiety to the "captains of industry." Such a situation is certain to provoke remedial measures; already the Department of Scientific and Industrial Research has provided a makeshift machinery for increasing the output of research workers, a means whereby bright science students will be nursed in research until ready to walk into the research associations which have been promoted by state interference. The Board of Education, by increasing its altogether inadequate grants to the universities, provides an additional stimulus to more activity in science laboratories, and the benefactions of such far-sighted companies as that of Brunner and Mond, tend in the same direction.

The dearth of scientific workers and the measures adopted by the State to improve the situation remind me of the serious dearth of school teachers about seventeen years ago and the action of the Board of Education and certain municipal authorities to increase the output. It may be remembered that these bodies encouraged pupils in the schools to enter the teaching profession by the generous provision of scholarships and the increase of training college accommodation; also that in less than six years hundreds of trained certificated teachers, some of the first-fruits of the system, were without reasonable prospects of employment in their

profession. Protest meetings were held all over the country, but within a few weeks these victims of the State machine were being forced by their circumstances to accept either those posts which had gone formerly to "uncertificated" teachers, or to abandon their profession and to enter others. Men became insurance agents, clerks; women accepted posts as waitresses. This was not all. The flooded market enabled local education authorities to keep salaries low and to introduce irksome conditions of employment and to elaborate the already exasperating system of inspection.

It may be urged that no such unlucky fate can overtake scientific workers as a result of the adoption of this old system of encouragement; that a new spirit animates the new administrator. We live in a hard, "practical" world still, and we fail to discern any appreciable change of outlook. What the powerful National Union of Teachers failed to combat satisfactorily, scientific workers—numerically few and still not well organized—might well regard with anxiety.

Evidently, the pressing need of the moment to meet a very real danger, is for all scientific workers to combine. There are still scientific workers who believe that "the wise man is he who does not concern himself with the world or its inhabitants" and regard with distrust any organizations catering for the needs of the army. This attitude is indefensible now. The National Union of Scientific Workers is endeavoring to persuade the various departments of the State to set an example—in the matters of salaries and the conditions of employment of scientific workers—for the industrial world to follow; that the right man must be attracted to science by the proper recognition of his services and a greater measure of control over his labor. The position of many scientific workers under State administration is a national scandal. But the only force which will stir the complacency of officialdom is the unanimous demand of scientific workers themselves for the radical improvement of their position.

It seems to me that technical activities is a departure in trade union efforts insufficiently recognized. The lack of relationship between professional and technical societies instituted on an educational basis and those instituted on the common conception of a trade union basis, is not due to any inherent incapacity on the part of either to form rules to cover both activities. The neglect of many of the educational societies to provide protection clauses for their members has undoubtedly strengthened the purely

protective associations. And the protective associations, by not neglecting the technical side, are tending to fulfil the functions of both types. The eagerness of the members for technical information to be gathered and issued through their trade union is very marked. Where this educational activity has been developed it has been intensely successful. There is also the desire to have representatives on educational bodies constituted on a national or municipal basis, to keep the government of their institutions in closer touch than has hitherto been attempted or possible under existing governorship. With the true requirements of education, both of an elementary and advanced character.

The Federation of Professional, Technical Administrative, and Supervisory Workers at some time must consider correlation of these efforts with a very proper regard for the distinction between vocational and general education. The whole question of scholastic education, apprenticeship, the granting of degrees and diplomas, etc., is bound up with the elementary issue. On the advanced side, considerable autonomy to the federated societies will possibly be desirable where the respective knowledge is concerned with specializations in the particular industry, trade, or service. There remain the large general subjects of an advanced character affecting our corporate life and citizenship, where we might link ourselves with colleges more under our control than the universities which treat these important subjects as side-issues.

It is a great programme, with much hope for the future, in which manual and non-manual workers may share the work alike to raise out of the existing welter a progressive order of society through which the New Commonwealth may become really such. To this consummation we must have, and we are voluntarily receiving, the sturdy co-operation of scientifically developed intelligence. We are not striving for a state of static equilibrium—dear to the heart of early Utopians—but something which will always allow room for further advances, for there is no finality in knowledge or its application. We

will have with us the brains and resources of all men of scientific, artistic, literary, musical, and sociological training, and in some branch of that training all men will be included, for the opportunities and the desire will be there. The means will also be there, and held with clear purposes that will stand the light of investigation.

JAMES GIBSON.



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# On Going to the Good

(By A. CLUTTON BROCK in the New Highway, London)

(Apropos of the recent sweeping denunciation of the dance by Rev. Dr. Stratton, of New York, in St. James Methodist Church, Montreal, the following article from The New Highway, London, may be found of interest).

THE Congregational Ministers have lately been discussing the theatre and dancing; and other people have discussed the ministers' discussion of these things; but no one, so far as I have seen, has said the one thing about the theatre and dancing, and about the ministers' attitude to these, which needs to be said. Those ministers who were against them held that they were, or might be, harmless. They would allow a young man or woman who went to the theatre to be a Sunday-school teacher, and dancing seemed to them an amusement like football or cricket, with the advantage, no doubt, that it could be enjoyed indoors, and in all weathers.

Now this tolerance, I confess, troubles me more even than the intolerance of the Puritans; it troubles me as a symptom of our modern indifference to the arts. Not one of these ministers, according to the account I read in the paper, saw that the drama and dancing are arts; and that the one question to be asked about them is simply this: Are they beautiful? In all ages when the arts flourished people knew that this was the question to ask. The dance to them was not a form of exercise or flirtation or dissipation. It was the art of human motion accompanied by music, the art in which the human body is made expressive like words or notes. If you see good Morris dancing, you will see the body so made expressive, and to music which seems to be obeyed by the body, or to obey it. There is this difference between an art and an amusement, that an amusement may be innocent or harmful, but an art, if well practised, is something better than innocent. It is a part of religion, it is something to which a human being can give the whole of himself, for the moment, without misgiving, and to which some human beings can, rightly, give their lives. And the only question to be asked about it is that question—Is it beautiful?—the question which the Congregational Ministers never asked at all.

Of course, because drama and dancing are arts, and art is a part of religion, they need not therefore always be solemn. Art is a blessed and necessary part of religion because it is always full of delight and often full of laughter; yet, when it is art, it has the sacred innocence of beauty. Nothing could be more beautiful than "A Midsummer Night's Dream"; it carries you into a world where fun is, as it were, enchanted by moonlight; you can believe that God himself would laugh with it and with the enchanted fun of Mozart. In fact, art is religious and a necessary part of religion because, unlike many sermons and prayers, it makes us believe in the goodness of God and the kindness of the Universe. He has made. Human beings are not much when they are earning their living at each other's expense, or catching trains, or saying what they do not mean in church; but when they are dancing beautifully to beautiful music, then they are something, and it is possible for them to love one another and to believe in God who has made them capable of beauty,

like flowers. But our religion has lost this necessary part of itself; and ministers, when they discuss two of the most natural and universal of the arts, do not even know that they are arts, do not apply to them the only test that is applicable to an art.

Yet I cannot blame them. They are not the only people who have forgotten that dancing and the drama are arts and ought to be beautiful; those who dance and those who go to theatres have for the most part forgotten it also; and perhaps the Puritan dislike of both is really, if unconsciously, aesthetic. Only I wish it were consciously aesthetic and had given the right reason for itself. Then the discussion of the ministers would not have been so inconclusive and they might have agreed instead of differing blindly. An art is immoral if it is wrongly practised, though not immoral for the reasons which the Puritans give. It is immoral because it is a symptom of a wrong spirit. Our theatre, for instance, is usually ugly because it is commercial; and no art ought to be practised for commercial reasons. The artist must live, but his main object should be to practise his art as well as he can. In our theatre that is not commonly the object of dramatists or actors; they try to give the public what it wants and, as the public does not know what it wants, the result is imbecility, and so ugliness.

But people cannot go to an imbecile theatre for beauty, they go for other things, many different things that are not worth having, some of them evil. Hence the Puritan dislike of the theatre; but the Puritan mistakes the remedy. It is not to avoid the theatre or to exterminate it if possible, but to make it beautiful. And the tolerant ministers also are mistaken. The theatre is not to be tolerated as an amusement; if it is merely an amusement, it will justify the Puritan dislike of it. It must be beautiful, or ugly with all the ugliness of commerce; it must have the innocence of beauty or it will not be innocent at all.

So it is with dancing. Men and women must dance for the beauty of the dance; it must be to them a means of expression; or it will be silly, ugly, and perhaps worse. The dance now is merely a survival, something which people practise, in the main, without knowing why it should be practised. It is to them a form of exercise or "a means of bringing young people together." But an art will not be practised on those terms. "Lilies that fester smell far worse than weeds"; and arts practised for the wrong reasons deserve what the Puritans say of them.

But still, the Puritans are irreligious because they do not see the need of art and beauty; they spoil religion itself with their ugly hymns; and the life without art which they try to practise tends constantly to degeneration. The sons of the Puritans are apt to be neither Puritans or artists; the fathers have eaten sour grapes and the children's teeth are set on edge; they refuse the sour grapes and run after poison. The great objection to Puritanism is that it cannot last. There always follows a Restoration with its orgies—silly, ugly and vicious. The Puritan is always fighting "vice," and always being worsted because he fights it with the wrong weapons. He tries to prevent the young from going to the bad and fails because he does not show them how to go to the good.

The good is beauty; and the best way to protect the young from vice is to put them in love with beauty; to teach them beautiful dances when they are children, and to set them acting beautiful plays themselves. Then they will know the sacred innocence of beauty and have a standard of their own to protect them from ugliness and silliness, from the world and the flesh and the devil.

The Puritan is afraid of all these; in his heart he believes that they are dangerously attractive; but if he were religious and loved beauty, he would know that the world is silly, the devil dull, and the flesh, without the spirit, ugly. As for the ministers who would tolerate the arts, they have no answer to the Puritans and are even more wrong. The arts are not to be tolerated; they are to be practised with passion or not at all. They do not come from the devil, or from some harmless negative source such as nature; they come from God.

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# The Wage Board for British Miners —Reorganization of Railway- men's Unions

(From our own correspondent)

THE coal strike, after lasting nearly three weeks, has come to an end on terms accepted by the Federation Executive. There was a ballot of the men which resulted in a small majority against the terms, but as two-thirds were required to continue the fight, the strike was called off.

This may look, at first sight, as though the miners have been beaten by Mr. Lloyd George and betrayed by their leaders.



Ethelbert Pogson

But that would not be a fair way of explaining a curious position. They demanded a rise of 50c. per shift. They got that increase until the end of the year, and then the situation is to be reviewed in the light of output and revenue during the five weeks ending December 18, and similarly from January 31, and thereafter every four weeks on the results of the four weeks' immediately following the last preceding test period.

The new basis of adjusting wages, which is to be worked out by a Wage Board, on which miners and coal owners will sit, is to be a sliding scale according to the profitability of the income. For instance, if, after deducting the cost of extra output, the weekly average of the proceeds of export coal — on which alone a profit is being made — exceeds the September figures, the men are to receive proportionate increases. The September proceeds are valued for the sake of wage increases as 1s above present rates, but each \$1,440,000 earned by the industry is worth another 12c. to the miners.

In this way wages rise or fall, according to output and revenue. But it works exactly the same in regard to the owners, and this is the men's best safeguard. The one-tenth share of the excess profits of the industry which go to the owners shall be increased or reduced by a quarter of this tenth part for every 12 cents by which the men's advance is increased or reduced.

It is now to the interest of both sides to increase the revenue of the coalfields, and the Government benefits also in that event, because it takes a big share of the profits for Exchequer purposes. As Britain pretty well controls the coal markets of the world the one thing needed to make the scheme a success is added output. This is the view of the Government, the owners and the majority of the miners' leaders, although it is only fair to state that

there is a strong left wing opposition, in the miners' movement, to this proposition.

In order that output shall be increased the owners and miners are to co-operate on district committees and a national committee in discovering how more coal may be produced. One important proposal accepted by both sides is the extension of coal cutting machinery.

The men are back to work now and we are hoping for peace in the coalfields, but the men who accepted the terms have had a fairly rough passage. Nevertheless, South Wales rank-and-filers gave William Brace and Vernon Hartshorn so bad a time that both of them have resigned. The latest news is that Brace is to have a \$10,000 a year post as Labor Adviser to the Ministry of Mines and I have private advices that Hartshorn will be offered a Government job soon. With their influence withdrawn South Wales miners will almost of a surety go straight over to the left and internal trouble within the Federation is not in the least unlikely.

In the railway world the most interesting thing at the moment is a scheme for the reorganization of the National Union of Railwaymen. It was drawn up by a committee appointed by a conference of the N. U. R. District Council, and embodies proposals of a vital and far-reaching character. The object of the scheme is to ensure that the rank and file have a greater and more district influence on the conditions governing their working lives, and to build up an organization capable of taking over the control and management of the railways. The structure they propose is built up from the bottom, beginning with trade stewards and trade committees, and working upwards through Departmental Committees, Station Committees (comprising either shops, depots or sheds), Town and Locality Councils, Divisional Councils and finally to the National Departmental Conference which will appoint representatives to the central unit, the National Railway Workers Council. The scheme includes every grade of worker employed in the industry, the National departments being divided into six categories, as follows: Locomotive, Traffic, Goods, Engineering, Shop Workers and Supervisors and Clerks. It is proposed that the National Departmental Conference should draw up their own programmes and conduct their own movements, as it is impossible for one composite body to cope successfully with the technical details and working of all the grades and departments. The functions of the other units mentioned above are also dealt with, and examples given of

the way in which these functions should operate. Although their aim is ultimate control, nationalization of the railways with workers' control, the members of the Committee have outlined a scheme for joint control, to be regarded as a transition stage only, which the suggested structure, they contend, is the most capable of securing. The proposed changes were perhaps too drastic to allow for their early adoption, but there is undoubtedly a growing tendency among the members for a reorganization of the Union on more democratic lines.

Another strike of "black coats" is proceeding to-day. It embraces all members of the Guild of Insurance Officials who work for the General Accident, Fire and Life Assurance Corporation, Ltd., a concern with chief offices in Perth and branches in various parts of the country.

The trouble arose over the dismissal of sixteen employees in London, Brierley Hill, Edinburgh, Cardiff, Swansea and Perth. One of these, Mr. W. H. Howie, of the Aldwych branch, received a letter in which the general manager, Mr. F. Norie-Miller said: "No one who is a member of the so-called Insurance Guild can be permitted to hold any position of responsibility or trust in our company."

Mr. Howie, according to Mr. Stanley Grainger, general secretary of the guild, is a man of exceptional ability, whose worth as an official has been generously recognized by the corporation. The letter, which was shown to me, reflected in no way upon Mr. Howie beyond objecting to his connection with the guild, but was otherwise quite friendly in tone.

Matters did not, however, come to a head until two lady clerks at Perth—"clerkesses" is the term used locally—were dismissed. Miss Mary

Beveridge and Miss Cumming were on the shop committee. Miss Beveridge had been with the corporation several years. The decision to strike for recognition of the union was taken after a ballot, when there voted for withdrawal 10,933, against 2,807.

"Every possible step to avoid trouble had been taken," Mr. Grainger said. "We got in touch with the directors and shareholders and several shareholders have written sympathizing with us and offering their services towards a settlement. The Ministry of Labor has endeavored to settle the dispute, but in vain."

"The Guild membership within the corporation is about 50 per cent. of the whole."

Postal workers to the number of 120,000 are balloting whether they shall be, if necessary, a striking union, but this does not mean that we are likely to have our mail stopped in the near future.

"All that it means," Mr. H. W. Wallace, assistant secretary of the Union of Post Office Workers' said, "is that we are seeking to improve our organization. We have no intention of striking, but we want to ask the members whether they are in favor of the strike policy being pursued in case it is needed at any time."

"There has always been a sort of pious feeling in favor, but it has never had any money behind it, and if the vote goes in the affirmative, it will mean establishing a strike fund. But I would like to make it clear that there is no strike at present contemplated and also that no stoppage would ever take place without a ballot of the members."

All the same, there is a good deal of disappointment among Post Office workers regarding pay and conditions, if it has not reached the stage of volcanic unrest.

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## Organized Labor to Put Mexico on Her Feet

(By CHESTER M. WRIGHT)

**W**HEN the Pan-American Federation of Labor meets in Mexico City in January it will meet in a country where there is a labor movement constantly gaining in strength and constantly growing in resemblance to the American Federation of Labor.

With James Lord, president of the Mining Department of the American Federation of Labor and treasurer of the Pan-American Federation of Labor, I have just returned from a tour of the republic to the south. Our trip took us from Laredo, on the Texas border, to San Luis Potosi, thence to Tampico and from there to Mexico City. En route we passed through the important cities of Monterey and Saltillo. We traversed in perfect safety country which three months ago could be crossed only at great risk and without any night travelling.

These are facts about Mexico as we found it:

1. Mexico is pacified.
2. Mexico is an orderly nation, going about the business of education and reconstruction in a thoughtful and orderly manner.
3. The Mexican army, up to a strength of 200,000 but a few weeks ago, is being demobilized and may be cut to as low as 60,000. Generals are being demobilized and sent back to the ways of peace.
4. Communal lands, lands which were granted to communities for community use under the ancient Spanish grants and which in many cases were communal lands before the advent of the Spanish, are being restored to the people. Restoration is proceeding at the rate of from twenty to thirty communities per month.
5. Trade union organization is proceeding rapidly and the practice of negotiation and trade agreement is being introduced gradually.
6. Improvement in working conditions and increases in wages are being brought about as rapidly as possible, perhaps as rapidly as the safety of the national economic structure will permit.
7. There is a close sympathy between government and the labor movement.
8. There is in Mexico to-day absolute freedom of speech and of the press.
9. There is a wholesome movement toward the elimination of graft and corruption.
10. Plans are being made for educational work—education in the first principles and simple fundamentals needed by a people said to be 85 per cent. illiterate.

These are facts—facts that show the drift and tendency of the Mexico of to-day. If any observation is correct, Mexico to-day has the best government in her modern history. We had ample opportunity for ex-

tended conversations with practically all important members of the government and with a large number of trade unionists. There is a universal desire for peace and a general understanding of the paramount necessity of peace.

Intervention by force in the affairs of Mexico, in the light of the facts we found, would be beyond excuse, a betrayal of all international morality and on its face an excursion of conquest.

The oil question, long the bone of contention, can, I am satisfied, be settled. I believe it is not too much to say that Mexico would be willing to submit the oil situation to inquiry by a joint Mexican-American commission for the ascertainment of the facts. Mexico would not submit herself to the recommendations of such a commission, but she would, I have every reason to believe, welcome a statement of facts found by such a commission.

Efforts to disrupt Mexican affairs with communist propaganda have been made, as they have been made almost everywhere, but thus far without success. There are communists in Mexico—some of them are American draft evaders, some are native Mexicans, but the propaganda has had little effect.

The constructive movement of trade unionism is dominant and the thirst for information concerning the progress and experiences of the American Federation of Labor is keen.

Mexico to-day is coming to her feet. Promise and hope is abundant. In the light of the actual facts the demand for a "firm hand," the "civilizing influences of the American flag" or "the American spirit," or for intervention under any guise, is a demand as unjustified as it is inexcusable.

### Protect the Child

The Railroader has received the following communication from the Trades and Labor Council of Canada:

The welfare of the child is something that interests us all, irrespective of race, creed or class.

In connection with the Federal Health Department there has been formed a Department of Child Welfare, and Dr. Helen McMurchy has been appointed as superintendent.

On October 21st, a conference of representatives of numerous volunteer organizations interested in child welfare met in the City of Ottawa for the purpose of organizing a National Council to assist in an advisory capacity in the administration of child welfare work in the different provinces.

It is understood that this Council will organize sub-councils in the most populous centres of the pro-

vinces and the Executive are of the opinion that organized labor should take an active part on these Councils and have a representative of the local Trades Council on them.

We are not in a position to give you further definite information as to when these Councils may be formed or the exact duties they will undertake to perform but we bring this to your attention in order that you may watch local developments and be in a position to secure representation whenever such a Council is formed in your District.

It was largely through the influence of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada that the Federal Health Department came into existence and its representatives on the Council of the Federal Health Department have been insistent from the beginning for the development of child welfare by this body.

We now ask your co-operation in order that the fullest results may be obtained in harmony with the views of the organized workers.

TOM MOORE,

President.

P. M. DRAPER,

Secretary-Treasurer.

On behalf of the Executive Council of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada.

J. H. Thomas, general secretary of the National Union of Railwaymen, was elected president of the International Federation of Trades Unions in succession to W. A. Appleton, at the conference of that body in London.

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## Unemployment Insurance

UNEMPLOYMENT insurance is to be discussed as an important issue in the Cabinet sessions prior to the opening of Parliament. The question apparently arises as a matter of course from a recommendation agreed upon at the International Labor Conference of the League of Nations, held at Washington in November of last year. There is no doubt, however, that anxieties of the unemployment situation as it is in the country at present and as the signs seems to point for the near future, have had much to do with raising the status of the question to one of urgency and first-rate order.

The "bread line" of to-day is not the dull, patient "bread line" of times of slackness before the war, thankful for small mercies of charity and taking things generally as an unfortunate, but inevitable and unchangeable, accompaniment of the industrial and social system. It has a new psychology, a new background, an impatience easily swung into the swift currents of thought that swish greedily around. It calls distinctly for an appreciation of the newer angles, for more searching, nationally-constructive forms of adjustment looking to cure or modification of ills, demanding the concentration of the best and kindest brains. The Government begins to see this.

The unemployment insurance recommendation of the International Labor Conference reads: "The general conference recommends that each member of the international labor organization establish an effective system of unemployment insurance, either through a Government system or through a system of Government subventions to associations whose rules provide for payment of benefits to their unemployed members." According to the Peace Treaty, there is an obligation on the signatories to bring the recommendations or draft conventions, not later than eighteen months from the closing of the annual labor conference of the League, before "the authority or authorities within whose competence the matter lies, for the enactment of legislation and other action."

Our Canadian Government side-stepped the eight-hour day convention by claiming that authority of enactment was exclusively within the jurisdiction of the provincial governments. It has done a like thing with four other conventions of the 1919 conference, relating to:—employment of women before and after childbirth; employment of women during the night; the "Children's Charter," which deals with the minimum age for admission of children to industrial employment; and night work of young persons employed in industry.

A sixth convention of the 1919 conference concerned the establishment of unemployment agencies. Legislative action

on this was held to come within the scope of the Dominion Government, and action towards the establishment of the Employment Service of Canada, with its chain of labor exchanges, had, indeed, already been taken by the Government.

There were also six recommendations from the International Labor Conference, concerning:—unemployment insurance; treatment of foreign workers; prevention of anthrax; establishment of a Government health service; protection of women and children against lead poisoning; and the prohibition of the use of white phosphorous in the manufacture of matches. Hon. Mr. Doherty, Minister of Justice, last week ruled that unemployment insurance, considered as complementary to a system of labor exchanges, "has a pronounced federal aspect, and on the whole the Minister thinks the establishment of a system of unemployment insurance is competent to the Dominion in the exercise of its residuary legislative power with relation to the peace, order and good government of Canada."

He also ruled that the recommendation on protection of women and children against lead poisoning came within the jurisdiction of the provincial legislatures and that the recommendation on protection of foreign workers came within the jurisdiction of the Dominion Government; the three remaining recommendations were already within the competence of the Dominion Government.

The proposition that men, women and children are to starve or be beggars for alms because the breadwinners are out of work through industrial conditions over which, as individuals, they have no control, and which is in effect, if not in phrase, the proposition put forward by some comfortable, well-fed persons who are relics of the school of the Josiah Bouderbys of Coketown, is a cut-back to barbarism not likely to be entertained by the Canadian people. Yet it is worth noting as one of the small irritations, suggesting or doing nothing of a constructive nature, which serve as fuel for the fire of class antagonism. The Josiah Bouderbys are the hope and delight of the up-to-date revolutionary; without them it would be so much harder to make a case for the demolition of the social system.

That there are men in the Cabinet itself, or on the outside looking in and making signs that must be heeded, who are so far behind as students of industry and humanity, even if quite selfish students, that they would urge the abandonment of the unemployed to their own devices and to such charity as they might pick up to keep body and soul together, is surely very doubtful. Such men would be throwing boomerangs. It is hard to imagine that there could be men in high places so foolhardy, so blind to their own ultimate interests, however iron-headed, self-centred, brutal or unscrupulous they might be, under ordinary circumstances, in dealing with the interests of others. As a matter of practical politics, and putting aside any thought of humanity, the proposition of abandoning the unemployed may practically be ruled out of consideration.

Discussion is likely to be centred, rather, on the question of what form of unemployment insurance by the state should be applied. At least a score of variations of form have been tried, but there is not much to choose between them in operation and effect. Broadly, all are based on the idea of providing sufficient subsistence to prevent acute distress and not enough subsistence to encourage loafing. Broadly again, most are based on the idea that employers and employed workers shall directly contribute the greater share of the funds. In Great Britain at present the unemployment insurance is fifteen shillings a week, being raised recently from seven shillings a week.

Unemployment insurance at its best is only a palliative, an essential thing in an emergency such as there is here at present, but just a temporary and superficial means of dealing with a periodical condition. It is a poultice clapped on a recurrent sore, a local treatment without effort to get at a constitutional defect.

The worker wants work for which he is paid wages, not loafing for which he is given subsidies. (This may sound amusing to the official misrepresentatives of the labor movement, but let that pass). The fear of poverty is the gnawing fear of the workers, for in the great majority of cases the worker has not enough



OLD GROUCH says: "Papers claim there's a shortage of turkeys for Christmas, but it has nothing on the shortage of those who eat turkey."



wages to provide a living for those dependent on him and for himself, and leave anything over to meet times of unemployment. He lives from pay-day to pay-day and cannot do anything else. Tales of high wages and extravagant spending amongst ordinary workers are mostly newspaper fiction, often developed out of a definite anti-labor policy, even if denied or undeclared. Unemployment is feared by the worker because of its distressing and discouraging influence on his family socially, particularly on his wife, because it means pinching and going without, because it brings a load of debt which may take years to liquidate, because it deteriorates the whole family physically and in character. Subsistence insurance may offset complete disaster; it cannot begin to take the place of employment.

The general economic effect of unemployment is to be taken account of. Unemployment means under-consumption, which I believe is economically worse than either over-production or under-production (I state this as a personal belief, as I do not know whether it is to be found in text-books, being one of only limited academic schooling). In any case, the loss of economic balance in unemployment, with under-consumption on the one hand and state payment for unproductiveness on the other, will seem obvious to most persons.

Really the remedy is work, and the real problem is to find work where at first glance there might appear to be none; failing that, to devise a plan whereby lack of work shall not be an emergency charity tax on the community or a charity subsidy to those who lack work.

It is a big question, yet there are several clear lines through it and the detail is largely a matter of forethought and organization. First of all, unemployment should be treated as a national concern, as something not affecting the unemployed alone, but affecting the whole social fabric.

Secondly, there should be the effort to frame a policy ahead of the emergency, with a view to minimizing the emergency if not to avoid it altogether. There is preventive medicine. Why not research in preventing unemployment, which is a serious illness?

Thirdly, there should be more effort to distribute employment in a national way. The work of the government labor exchanges may be pointed to; still, I have just been glancing at a report of the Department of Roads of the Province of Quebec and I find that public works have been delayed on account of lack of labor, an odd thing to read about in times of unemployment.

Fourthly, there should be a balancing, or stabilizing, of the ups and downs of industry with social needs in the way of public works. For instance, at present thousands of houses are needed and there are thousands of men who could build houses looking for work.

It might be found on research that the shortening of hours and the spread of available work over a greater number of employees might be of value in a time of depression. In addition to unemployment insurance the matter of insurance as an aid to those on short time might be studied. With shortening of hours unemployment would be carried by the entire trade or occupation, not by a section of unfortunate individuals. This plan is already operated to some extent in the shops of the Grand Trunk Railway.

Another angle worth thinking about is that unemployment is generally greatest in industries where wage rates are lowest and where the industries are normally in more precarious position than others; that, to state the reverse of it, unemployment is least where wage rates are highest and where the industries are normally in more profitable position than others. This is an inequitable condition for both employer and employee, and seems to suggest the thought that in the matter of unemployment insurance funds contributed to by employer and employee the contributions should be made according to profits and rates of wages, the more profitable industries and the more highly paid and more secure employees paying higher rates, and all the funds placed in a common exchequer for common distribution.

—Kennedy Crone

### Shutting Him Up

IT is rare in this country that there is any attempt to suppress individual freedom of expression, whatever restriction there may be on some of the means of spreading that expression. The rare thing seems to have been attempted by Col. Gaudet, Director of Public Safety, Montreal.

The local newspapers have been doing their best to provoke a strike of the Police Union and to create a public opinion antagonistic to the unionists. (Incidentally, they have done what was quite foreign to their hope, strengthened the defensive front of the Police Union and swung the weight of union sympathy in

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general behind the policemen to a greater extent than before. These newspapers are not half as clever as they think they are). In reply, Sergeant Bouchard, President of the Police Union, has done his best in letters to the editors of the various papers to state the exact position of the Union and to dispel impressions based on incorrect information.

Col. Gaudet, who, as Director of Public Safety, is controller of the police, has put an end to Sergeant Bouchard's public defence and explanation of the Union. He has told Sergeant Bouchard that unless he ceases writing to the papers he will ask for his resignation from the police force. To put it another way, he has deprived Sergeant Bouchard of that right of appeal to public opinion through the newspapers which the Gazette played up as an argument against the need of a Police Union. There is thus an excellent opportunity for the Gazette to insist that the right of appeal through the newspapers shall be maintained, to show that it believes in what it says itself. Last week I was irreverent enough to describe the Gazette's argument as piffle and humbug. It looks as if Col. Gaudet has ably supported me in my irreverence, and it is "up to" the Gazette to prove how needlessly irreverent both of us are.

It may not be correct to assume that Col. Gaudet is an opponent of freedom of speech because he happens to shut Sergeant Bouchard up; the deliberate idea of suppressing a free-man's rights is not likely to have been in his mind at all. He probably arrived at his action in another way. He is, to begin with, a soldier, and he may have a notion that policemen should be soldiers, too. He may have a soldier's idea of "crimes," and there is an instruction in the police manual which he may have interpreted to apply to the circumstances; and, having a military mind, "orders is orders," though the heavens fall.

Whatever the process of arriving at the order to Sergeant Bouchard, its effect is to restrict that officer's right to defend his Union and himself against attack and misrepresentation. His Union has already taken the matter up, and it will also come before the Trades and Labor Council in the near future, so that apparently it is not regarded as a light matter.

—Kennedy Crone

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# THE IDEAL WAGE

(As seen by LORD COWDRAY)

In his Rectorial Address at the Aberdeen University recently Lord Cowdray spoke of "Labor: Its Problems and the Ideal Wage." The remuneration of Labor, he said, may be taken either in the broad sense, which raises the whole question of the methods of production and division of the product between different members of the community, or in the narrow sense which confines it to amendments or modifications of the existing wage-system.

"It is hardly possible to consider the one without the other, for either takes us eventually to the fundamentals — the different possible types of social organization for the production and distribution of wealth, communistic, socialistic, individualistic, capitalistic, etc.

"Here the difficulty is that men are nowhere writing on a clean state. They all, in modern times, have to start with a conception of wealth or property which is the growth of hundreds, even thousands, of years of gradually evolving tradition and custom, and which is an integral part of the structure of society as we know it.

"When we are talking of dividing wealth, or apportioning the shares of wealth, the nature of the wealth we are thinking of must be carefully defined. Property, as we know it, consists not merely of things tangible and material — such as land, houses, factories, minerals, shipping, etc. — but of an immense variety of claims, such as good-will, credits, anticipations of the future, estimates, hopes, and even fancies of what may be produced which can be discounted and assessed at present values. A great part of these are mental and psychological, and all of them are bound up with the assumption that the present state of society will continue, and would perish if it perished.

"The assumed wealth could not be realized in present values, and, if it could be, it would be largely destroyed in the process of dividing it, for it is all based on the capitalist system, which the division would extinguish. The idea of rewarding the proletariat by dividing the spoil is, therefore, not so wicked as it is illusory.

"The idea that the proletariat can be benefited or the worker remunerated by the division of existing wealth must be dismissed as a veritable 'will o' the wisp.' If we are to make a new world on communist lines, we must begin by writing off the values of the old world.

"A great many Socialists realize this, and therefore what they propose is not the destruction of the present order, but the transfer of its control from the individual to the State.

"They constantly talk as if the worker would necessarily earn a better wage, have more security and better conditions, if he were working for the State than if he were working for a private employer.

"Indeed I can only say that this claim is an unproven assumption. It assumes that the total product will be increased if private profit is extinguished, and that the Creators, Controllers, and Directors of Industry and Commerce, the Inventors and Designers, will do better work for the State, though receiving a less remuneration, than they now do for themselves. This is an assumption which no impartial person thinks of making in regard to the manual laborer, and there is no obvious reason why it should be true of other kinds of workers.

"In the actual socialistic experiments we have seen, there has invariably followed disorganization, and decline of efficiency and of output. Then the State, compelled to keep up nominal wages, with declining outputs and uneconomical production, is driven to fill the gap by printing paper money — the almost invariable recourse of revolutionary Governments.

"But even if we suppose these obstacles overcome, none of the socialistic schemes which are presented to us attempts to solve the problem of the remuneration of labor. The transfer of the controlling and directing functions from one set of individuals called employers and capitalists to another set of individuals called the State leaves the question of the division of the product untouched.

## The Strike Weapon.

"The wage-earners hold tenaciously to the position that they will not forego their right to strike, whether the State is controller or the private employer, and frequently reject moderate and most reasonable proposals for delay and arbitration. The present strike of the miners is a glaring example. So under the one system as under the other we are still faced with the problem of the just distribution of the product and the possibility of great strikes to decide it.

"No one can be satisfied with the present method of collective bargaining with strikes as the last word. It has all the defects in the industrial world of war and war-like methods in the political world. It ranges workmen and employers in hostile camps — though their aims must be identical — it leads to a sharp diplomacy in which the two sides are under a perpetual temptation to outwit each other, and not infrequently to ruinous conflicts, the cost of which, to the trades concerned, and to the whole community, is out of all proportion to the questions in dispute, and far greater than any advantage that either side can gain, even if it is completely victorious.

"Here our hope lies in substituting the idea of partnership for the idea of war. This may be very difficult to achieve, but it is none the less the idea to bear in mind, and the ideal to aim at.

"But the partnership unfortun-

ately never can be on equal terms. Men are not equal either in hands or brains. One man works quicker than another, is handier than another; another has a genius for organizing and inventing not shared by his fellow men."

## An Ideal Wage Definition.

Having considered unemployment as one of the factors, Lord Cowdray proceeded:

"What are the factors in the 'ideal wage,' if I may so speak for it? I think they are three. First, the guaranteed minimum; second, a variable quantity according to the output of the individual; third, a variable addition according to the result of the undertaking—to put it shortly, piece-work with a guaranteed minimum and a bonus on profits. This, if realized, would secure the worker against falling below the poverty line, put a premium on his individual effort, and give him an interest in the results of his labor. It would follow logically from the last condition that he should, like other interested persons, have some voice in the management of the concern and the distribution of its profits. And this would be the great steady-going factor. It should enlist him on the side of just and peaceful settlements and the avoidance of strife which would be plainly injurious to the industry.

"The first factor, the guaranteed minimum wage, is now generally recognized, and operative.

(Continued on next page.)

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"We are only at the beginning of the third factor, the bonus on profits, and it presents considerable difficulties.

"The worker is generally not in a position to engage in the business as an ordinary shareholder. He cannot embark other capital than his own labor or run the risk of loss.

"There is no reason at all why experiments should not be made on a moderate scale. The workmen in these days have command of a large amount of capital. Comparatively small levies would suffice to produce the amount needed to start workshops on the principles of Guild Socialism.

"The Co-operative Wholesale Society has immense funds at its disposal, all of it workmen's money, and it might apply at least a part of them in fruitful and useful experiments in co-operative production of the foods and goods needed for its own stores, instead of relying almost wholly, as it does now, on ordinary capitalist methods.

"It is a mistake to suppose that the difficulties will be overcome, as some of these theories appear to assume, by the simple expedient of giving the name 'craftsmen' to all persons engaged in a particular industry, and concluding that a just division between the various classes—organizers, designers, inventors, mechanics, and laborers—which must co-operate, will thereby be automatically discovered."

**Co-Partnership Problems.**

Lord Cowdray proceeded to outline the problems preliminary to co-partnership:

"I will mention, but not attempt to solve, some of the points that will arise in any co-partnership scheme:

"The return that capital should receive for its use and the risk it runs.

"The remuneration to be paid for brains, experience, and for special and exceptional services.

"After providing for the foregoing how should the surplus, if any, be apportioned between the capital employed, the administration or management, and the workmen? The proper division of this surplus must necessarily vary with each trade. It should be divided so that each receives according to its contribution to the making of the surplus.

"How are the workmen's representatives, who are to assist the administration, to be appointed? They must be satisfactory to both masters and men. I assume they must be old employees of the firm and that their tenure of office must be for not less than two or three years.

"How could the workmen's part in the administration of the business be determined or defined? In the early years it must be limited to advice, principally upon the details of operation and administration, and to seeing that the agreed-upon proportion of the surplus accruing to the workers is duly set forth. With experience and development co-partnership would show to what extent and how the workers' responsibilities might be increased.

"It is the right solution of these points, the finding out of the way to the partnership and mutual understanding which will alone bring peace and prevent the struggle for the division of the profits of industry being a blind tussle of forces."

**Unemployment Problem.**

After discussing the various means proposed of meeting the difficulties of unemployment, Lord Cowdray continued:

"Until we seriously sit down to the question of unemployment, and attempt to give to the working class life the security which it now lacks, quack and extremely disastrous remedies will continue to be applied, and the economists will remonstrate in vain.

"Partly it is a question of organization. By pooling the resources which an industry needs to meet times of exceptional pressure, the number of casuals who are taken on when work is brisk and discharged when it falls off can be reduced to a minimum.

"The subject, in my opinion, needs careful examination and trial; and so far we have only broken first ground. There are, of course, difficulties, but the amount of unemployment ought to be relatively so small that the financial problem of insuring against it ought not to be very formidable, and the psychological results of so doing would certainly be of the utmost importance."

Summing up, Lord Cowdray said that if new forms of society were established they would be faced by essentially the same difficulties as now exist in distributing the products of hands and brains justly. It was for capitalists, who are in possession, to exert themselves to find remedies for evils which, however unfairly, would be laid at their doors. If the problems were solved, it would become evident that the greatest advantage lay in leaving the widest liberty to individual endeavor, enterprise, and adventure.

Trainmen employed by Dominion Steel Corporation at Sydney, Nova Scotia, are on strike and as a consequence the tire plant is closed and 4,000 men out of work. The men want the regular railway schedule of wages. Trainmen in the employment of the Nova Scotia Steel and Coal Company have made similar demands and may strike.

**THE Fifth Sunday Meeting Association of Canada****Its Only Aim Is The Welfare Of The Masses**

THE people of a nation cannot advance beyond the men who make its laws, and the Fifth Sunday Meeting Association of Canada exists to see to it that the workers by hand and brain are directly represented in the law-making bodies of the Dominion; to find, train, and elect the right men of our own class in order to secure the kind of legislation that will protect and advance the interests of the workers.

It will wage warfare on plutocracy, despotism, economic privileges, and upon all the evil forces which burden the people and rob them of that happiness of living which is their fundamental right.

It is a non-partisan educational and political association, and because of the manner in which it is organized can never become the instrument or plaything of a small group of any class, particularly of wealthy men. The aim is the attainment of true democracy.

**WE PLEDGE OURSELVES:—**

To support all municipal, provincial and federal educational laws where the evident purpose is to raise the standard of education in enlightened and progressive ways; to present truthfully and fearlessly through the medium of Fifth Sunday Meetings and our own press, the "Canadian Railroader", the latest and most important political, social and industrial developments;

To advocate the abolition of property qualifications for the franchise or for election to public office; the adoption of the Initiative, Referendum and Recall, and of proportional representation in all forms of public government; universal suffrage for both sexes, on the basis of one person, one vote; the transfer of taxation from improvements, and all products of labor, to land values, incomes and inheritances;

To advocate prison reform, including introduction of the honor and segregation systems, and abolition of contract labor; the enactment and rigid enforcement of child labor laws; pensions for mothers with dependent children; regulation of immigration to prevent lowering of industrial political or social standards; development of the postal savings and parcel post systems; financial and other assistance to farmers through co-operative banks and by other means; government development of co-operative producing and trading associations for the benefit of the consumer;

To advocate extension of workmen's housing schemes and the labor bureau system; provision of technical education for every willing worker, according to his capacities; more effective inspection of buildings, factories, workshops and mines; minimum wages; a rest period of not less than a day and a half per week for every worker; government insurance of workers against sickness, injury and death; maternity benefits and old-age pensions; better Workmen's Compensation Acts; representation of the workers on all public boards and on boards for the supervision of private enterprises; union labor conditions in all government work; adequate pensions and opportunities for soldiers and their dependents;

To advocate freedom of speech and of the press, and a law compelling all newspapers and periodicals to publish in all issues a complete list of shareholders and bondholders.

"The Fifth Sunday Meeting Association of Canada" is financed entirely by its members who contribute \$2 a year in membership fees. If a local has been established in your city \$1 remains in the local treasury and the other dollar is sent by the local organization to our Dominion Headquarters, 316 Lagauchetiere St., west, Montreal. In case no local has been established in your community, send the membership fee of \$2 directly to Dominion Headquarters.

The funds accumulating in the Dominion Headquarters are used for political and educational propaganda; the development of the organization; the preparation of pamphlets and leaflets and the financing of the various political campaigns where favorable opportunities develop, to elect our candidates. The Treasurer is under bond and the books are audited by a firm of accountants.

An application blank will be found below. Merely fill out the application blank, buy a postal order for \$2 and send it to Dominion Headquarters. Your membership card will be forwarded by return mail. Join this great organization in the interests of education and clean politics. *To-day is the day and this is the hour. Become a member now.*

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To the Secretary,  
The Fifth Sunday Meeting Association of Canada.  
General Headquarters, 316 Lagauchetiere Street, West,  
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I hereby make application for membership in "The Fifth Sunday Meeting Association of Canada" I subscribe and agree to pay while a member, the yearly sum of \$2.00 in advance.

Name.....  
Amount Paid \$..... Address.....  
Date..... City.....  
Province.....

*Make all cheques and money orders payable to "The Fifth Sunday Meeting Association of Canada."  
Official membership card will be mailed from headquarters with a copy of platform, constitution and general rules.*







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**ST. JOHN, N.B.  
CANADA****Catholic Council Praises  
Unionism**Greater Need for Organization Than  
Ever Before Says Church  
Body.

Declaring that "labor unions were necessary even during the war when workers were in greatest demand, and are still more imperative now," the National Catholic Welfare Council at Washington, on Nov. 10, issued a formal denunciation of big employers whose "open shop" drive, it charges, "threatens not only the welfare of the wage-earners but the whole structure of industrial peace and order."

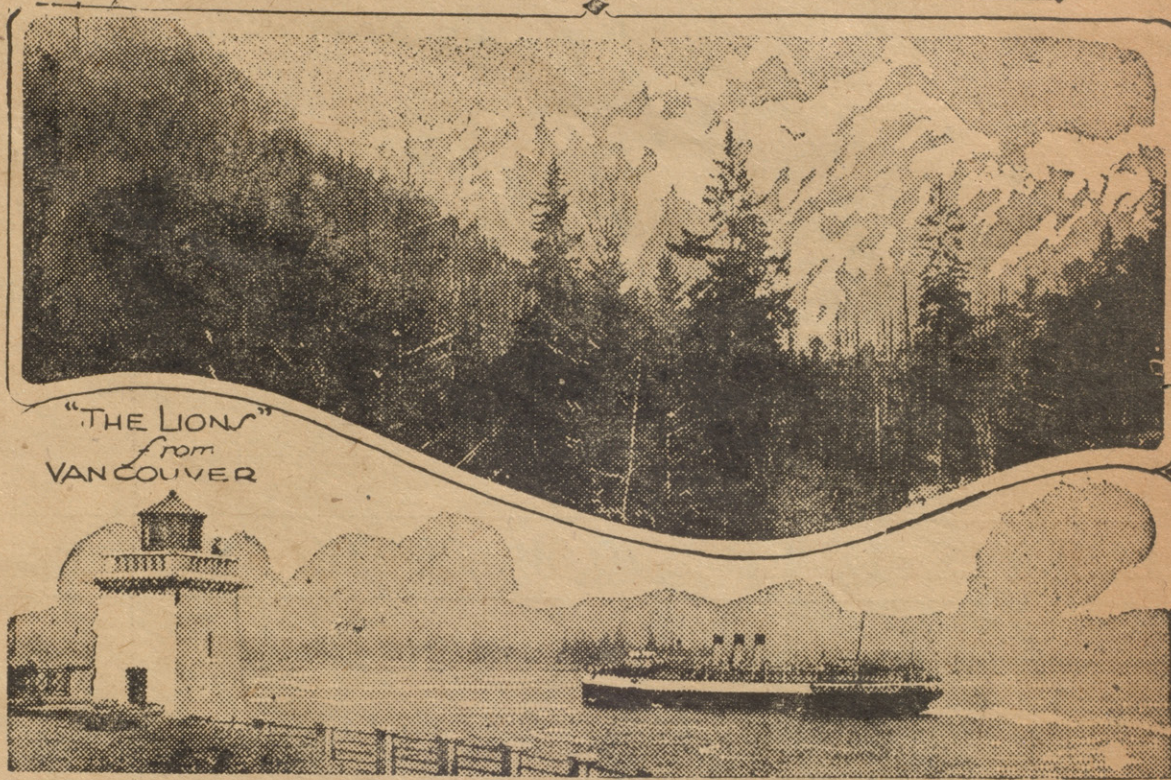
"The evidence shows," the churchmen continue, "that in its organized form the present drive is not merely against the closed shop but against unionism itself and particularly against collective bargaining. Of what avail is it for workers to be permitted to become members of unions if the employers will not deal with the unions? The workers might as well join golf clubs as labor unions if this open shop campaign is successful."

"The open shop drive masks under such names as the American plan and hides behind the pretence of American freedom. Yet its real purpose is to destroy all effective labor unions, and thus subject the workers to the complete domination of the employers."

Recalling that the highest dignitaries of the church have recently demanded for workers the right to organize and of collective bargaining, the statement of the council concludes by saying: "The aim now at putting into greater subjection the workers in industry is blind and foolhardy. The radical movements and disturbances in Europe ought to hold a lesson for the American employers. And the voice of the American people ought to be raised in the endeavor to drive this lesson home."



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**VICTORIA AND VANCOUVER ISLAND WHERE GRASS  
IS ALWAYS GREEN AND GOLFERS PLAY AT CHRISTMAS**FROM VANCOUVER TO  
VICTORIA

Vancouver Island folk pick roses in the garden when the Christmas bells are ringing, and the golfer is never off his game, so far as being able to play is concerned, because there he can drive, approach the green and putt almost every day in the year. In the fall and during the winter the grass is rich and green, and bloom is perpetual. This is due to the warming influence of the Japan current, which is the Gulf Stream of the Pacific Ocean. Vancouver Island was named after Captain George Vancouver, of the British Navy, who discovered it in 1792, and has an estimated area of 15,000 square miles. Its trees, among them the stately Douglas fir, which towers 300 feet above the roads over which the traveller glides by automobile, or by the Esquimalt & Nanaimo Railway, which runs northward through half the length of the island, are magnificent beyond description, some of them being 6 or 7 feet in diameter. Along



the road are many comfortable hotels and country chalets, many of them like the inns one finds on English country roads.

Victoria, the capital of British Columbia, is a city of rare charm with its beautiful drives, its golf courses, its Chinese quarter, its turbaned Hindoos, its Empress Hotel and its beautiful Capitol buildings. Every year at least 5,000 American golfers visit one course in Victoria, the Victoria Golf Club course and

thousands of automobiles leave Seattle annually for Victoria and Vancouver.

There is splendid inland and deep sea fishing in and on the coast of Vancouver Island, and the ambitious fisherman who really wanted to do something sensational has even gone out on the west coast waters of the Pacific and caught a real whale for breakfast. Needless to say, he did not have it served on toast.

**THE PROFITEER'S SONG.**

Tell me not, in foolish numbers,  
"H. C. L.'s a passing dream!"  
Nor hold forth like one who slumbers,  
With the Lever law, thy theme.

H. C. L. is here in earnest,  
And the jail is not my goal;  
Give me every cent thou earnest,  
For thy clothing, food and coal.

Not to lend nor yet to borrow  
Is my destined end or way;  
But to act that each to-morrow  
Find thee poorer than to-day.

Laws are loopholed, profits fleeting,  
And my heart—it won't behave!—  
Like a muffled drum, is beating  
Mark-up marches to thy grave.

In the world of competition,  
In the catch-as-can for life,  
Make thou, too, hard cash thy mission.  
Be no zero in the strife!

Trust no price-come-down prediction!  
Get in business for thyself!  
Soak—and soak without restriction!  
Put thy conscience on the shelf.

Lives of holdup men remind us  
We can live a high old time  
And, departing, leave behind us  
Records in the books of crime.

Records that perhaps another  
Floundering in the high-cost main,  
A forlorn and salaried brother  
Hearing, shall lose heart again.

Let us, then, be alibi-ing,  
With an eye to every chance—  
Folks dismaying, courts defying,  
Learn to make the dollars dance!

—Edmund J. Kiefer.



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### A BOOK ON OCCUPATIONS FOR TRAINED WOMEN.

Mrs. Vincent Massey has compiled some valuable information in her book, "Occupations for Trained Women in Canada," published by J. M. Dent and Sons, Ltd., Toronto. She was fully aware of the fact that the information as to the 17 occupations she describes might soon be out of date, as indeed it has become in some cases already. Notwithstanding this fact, the little volume of 94 pages with excellent reading matter to interpret the tables for each kind of occupation, will on the one hand serve as an invaluable guide to women in and out of Canada, and on the other hand should stimulate public opinion to demand a more intelligent employment Exchange Service for educated women than is at present provided by the hundreds of competing commercial agencies or the newspaper want columns.

Mrs. Massey says: "American women are moulding business, industrial and social work; British women are counting in every sphere of activity. But to the average Canadian girl nursing, teaching and stenography cover the range of her choice."

The solution lies in her opinion in the use by British girls of existing Canadian agencies for training, and in the development of an intelligent Employment Exchange Service.

Mrs. Massey's book fills a need; it might be a good plan if the infor-

mation contained in it were kept up to date by periodical publications from the government.

### HOURS OF LABOR IN STEEL INDUSTRY.

(New Republic, New York.)

In a recent address before the American Society of Mechanical Engineers, Mr. William B. Dickson, vice-president of the Midvale Steel and Ordnance Company, formerly an officer of the U. S. Steel Corporation and a partner of Andrew Carnegie, said several things the intelligence and liberality of which, considering that they come from the heart of the steel industry, are a welcome surprise. Mr. Dickson must be aware of the alarm he may inspire in the ranks of his own industry when he says that ways must be devised to give labor "the full recognition to which, as an equal partner, it is entitled," and urges "the adoption of a fair system of collective bargaining." He admits that "autocratic control is becoming a marked tendency in our great industries," and sees our government to be "founded on the suffrages of men who, for all practical purposes, are industrially bondmen." He has plain words for the past of the steel industry: "The Carnegie labor policy was highly autocratic, as is that of its successor, the United States Steel Corporation; a benevolent autocracy, if you please, in many splendid ways, although it still retains that relic of barbarism the twelve-hour day. But

however large you write that word 'benevolent' you must always write after it the word 'autocracy.'" Such statements are highly promising. Do they mean that the thirteen and a half hour night shift on which men were working a few months ago in Johnstown, Pennsylvania, will be, or already has been, abandoned? For the mills there are owned by the Midvale Steel Company, of which Mr. Dickson is vice-president.

### BACKING THE POLICEMEN.

(Labor World, Montreal.)

The Council of the Board of Trade of Montreal has passed a resolution to be forwarded to the City Administrative Commission declaring that "any union or association of policemen should be purely voluntary." The Builders' Exchange has passed a still stronger resolution.

The employing classes feel their unity. They feel that a well organized union of the workers in one industry is an example to workers in other industries. As the master class stand together against unionism, it is for labor to stand together also. As the organized master class through their boards of trade and their exchanges are fighting the Policemen's Union, it is for organized labor to stand behind the policemen, and to send counter resolutions to the City Administrative Commission upholding the stand of the policemen.

Labor can point out to the Commission that an officer of the police

force was dismissed for malfeasance of duty and that this officer was the only one who had not joined the union. It can also point out that of the three policemen dismissed two, although members of the union, were never seen at the union meetings. Labor can also point out that the Policemen's Union has a Grievance Committee, and all charges against policemen are examined and if these charges are found to be true, the policemen will stand by the authorities in the dismissal of those policemen who do not properly perform their duties.

The Civic Administrative Commission will no doubt have strongly placed before them the views of the organized workers of Montreal on this question.

Labor Gazette statistics show the percentage of unemployment at the beginning of October was 3.25, as compared with 4 per cent. at the beginning of September, and 2.19 at the beginning of October, 1919. There were in existence during the month 20 strikes, involving 5,147 workmen, and resulting a time loss of 65,556 working days.

Tom Moore, president of the Dominion Trades and Labor Council, addressed Montreal Canadian Club last week, arguing that in most trades advances of wages had not kept pace with the increased cost of living, so that organized labor was not prepared to consider any proposal of reduction at present. Mr. Moore drew applause by his condemnation of the general strike, which he described as irrational.



## The Approach To Social Work

(Principal James Smyth, LL.D., in Social Welfare, Toronto.)

ONE of the most striking facts in the life of the last quarter of a century is its awakened social conscience. There has been a tremendously intensified consciousness of social sin. A developing conviction that things are not right socially now urges us with irrepressible insistence. There have been many contributing factors in this social awakening. The moral passion has not all come from any one angle. Employers and employees alike admit that the present situation is not satisfactory. Church and non-Church suggest readjustment.

Now in all our thinking on the complicated questions of a social and economic reform, it is well to bear in mind some general principles.

The fundamental necessity is to ascertain the facts: Is there social injustice? Is so, where? Is vice commercialized? To what extent?

Are there numerous cases where people have no start in life and practically no chance to succeed? Are we wasting the resources of society? These and hosts of other questions must be answered by a scientific accumulation of facts and not by mere theories and sentimental exclamations. There are some cases where a mere publication of the facts would so arouse the public conscience as almost to effect the remedy desired. A patient, painstaking inquiry is therefore the prime requisite. Following this, there should be a scientific study of facts, with a view to finding a solution. The latter part of this principle is important. We do not desiderate a mere academic discussion. Our study must ever keep in view a constructive treatment, but this being understood, the principle I am enunciating would deliver us from the peril of shortcuts. There is an unreal simplicity which has a fatal fascination for untrained minds. Imperfect inductions have

been the ruin of many well-meant theories and schemes of social betterment.

Of equal importance is the necessity that those of opposite sides in the discussion of these complex questions should understand each other. Misunderstanding, which is fatal in all relationships of life, is doubly so in the fierce clash of social and economic interests. Let us therefore hear, and be as tolerant as possible of the views of those who differ from us. It will, at any rate, be a wholesome discipline to compel ourselves to listen to the arguments of men whose conclusions exasperate us, but it will be of untold benefit if we can appreciate the fact that those who cannot accept our conclusions are possibly as sincere and earnest as ourselves.

Finally, in the work of attacking social injustice, we need leaders of heroic type. Those who oppose the status quo, however unrighteous it may be, are always regarded as intruders and extremists. Reformers must inevitably find a cross in their pathway; human nature is, as a rule, conservative. Therefore, those who engage in this service must be prepared to make sacrifices. We need men and women who will act as Jesus did, and I verily believe that amongst those who have stirred up the social conscience to the realization of the injustices of society, are to be found not a few who are inspired by motives similar to those which actuated the Man of Nazareth. Notwithstanding the many blunders and errors of judgment which have been made and are still being made, this is the hope and assurance of ultimate victory for the cause of the disinherited in modern civilization.

### STANDARD OF LIFE.

"The Standard of Life," was the subject of an address delivered last week by Dr. Edward T. Devine of New York, under the auspices of the Social Service Department of the University of Toronto.

In introducing the speaker, Prof. Dale, Director of the Department, reminded the audience that Dr. Devine was unusually capable of dealing with the subject, being the author of several treatises on sociology, originator of the "Survey" and active for many years as a practical social service worker.

The political rights of the people, the speaker declared, were traditionally secure, but the much more vital right, that of living their lives fully and completely, was too often denied them. In the United States only 19 per cent. of the population enjoyed the comforts and privileges that should be the common heritage of all. According to General Leonard Wood, fully 50 per cent. of the United States drafted army was afflicted by physical disability in varying degrees of severity. With these facts in mind, the speaker urged that the future standard of life should be built on a sound physical basis. "Freedom from preventable physical disabilities is equally as important in peace as in war," he declared.

The extent of illiteracy — 20 per cent. in the United States — despite their boasted public school system was equally alarming, he said. The statement that, "the adolescent years, from 14 to 18, do not belong to industry, but should be devoted to education," was received with a burst of applause.

The speaker dealt next with the problem of mental defectives — only 15 per cent. of the feeble minded are given sufficient care, he stated. He advocated the formation of a protective colony where all such unfortunates might receive free medical treatment and be relieved of the necessity of competing for a livelihood with their mentally alert fellow-workmen.



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## Dr. Chase's Ointment

"Prisons are no cure for crime," the lecturer continued, and declared that much of the present industrial trouble is due to a lack of proper respect for the workers' personality.

The ideal of every public-spirited man or woman should be the maintaining of a decent standard of life, intellectually, physically and financially for the incoming generation. To bring this about, the size of the family may have to be limited, but a definite minimum income should be assured every family — about \$3,000 in the speaker's opinion. The national bonds held by patriotic citizens were not real sources of wealth but rather evidence of debt and waste, he declared.

The only lasting remedy for the manifold social ills, was the spreading of a true education, not of the pedagogical style, but one built around the social needs of society.

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